

CHAPTER VIII: "THE MOST ENJOYABLE STATION WE EVER HAD," 1887-1897

A. The Commanders

Having failed to have an appropriate office building constructed at the Presidio, the Military Division of the Pacific headquarters moved in 1887 to the Phelan Building in downtown San Francisco, where it remained until the great earthquake of 1906. The commanding general, Oliver O. Howard, reported that the move both facilitated the public business and greatly benefited the Presidio.¹

Once again the commanding officer of the Presidio, Lt. Col. William M. Graham, 1st Artillery, took charge of the entire reservation. For the next decade, until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the Presidio continued to be primarily an artillery post, it having the main coastal defenses, such as they were, for protecting San Francisco Bay. At one time nine artillery companies (batteries) made up the bulk of the garrison.

Two troops of the 2d Cavalry also belonged to the garrison, training in their profession and providing pomp and circumstance to division headquarters, visiting dignitaries, and civic affairs. In 1891 the cavalry received an additional assignment, protecting the Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks. In 1894 the 4th Cavalry Regiment replaced the 2d and the number of troops increased to four for summer duty in the parks.

Toward the end of the decade, some of the artillery batteries dispersed to other Bay Area forts to man the increasing number of modern coastal guns being mounted. By 1897 only four batteries remained at the Presidio. Taking their place at the Presidio elements of the 1st Infantry Regiment transferred from Angel Island. For the first time in many years an infantry colonel, William R. Shafter, commanded the Presidio.²

Of the seven post commanders during this decade, Colonel Graham served the longest, almost seven years. Possessing a strong personality, resentful of real and imagined military discourtesies, a stickler for

1. Howard, *Annual Report 1887*. San Francisco's population now approached 300,000.

2. Post Returns, 1887-1897.

the minutiae of army regulations, defender of mistreated animals, and upholder of the dignity of enlisted men, Graham had a great impact on the fortunes of the Presidio garrison.

He entered the U.S. Army with the rank of second lieutenant of artillery in 1855. During the Civil War he participated in the Peninsular campaign and the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg. By the end of the war he held the brevet rank of brigadier general. During his tour at the Presidio Graham received the rank of colonel, becoming the commander of the 5th Artillery Regiment in 1891. He became a major general of volunteers in the Spanish-American War, 1898, and retired from the Army that year.³

Graham temporarily surrendered command of the Presidio in the spring of 1888 when his colonel, Loomis L. Langdon, 1st Artillery, arrived to take over for two years. Graduating from West Point, Lieutenant Langdon joined the 4th Artillery in 1854. He participated in both the Florida Indian Wars and the Civil War. The Presidio tour came toward the end of his career, the colonel retiring in 1894.⁴

Following Graham's second tour, which ended in 1896, Col. William R. Shafter, 1st Infantry, arrived from Angel Island bringing many of his infantrymen with him. "Pecos Bill" Shafter, vastly overweight, had already made a name for himself fighting Apache Indians in the deserts of southwest Texas. He commanded the Presidio for only a short time, November 1896-February 1897, before receiving a promotion to brigadier general and moving to San Francisco to command the Division of the Pacific and the Department of California. He had been angling for that promotion for some time but the medical officers found his physical condition somewhat lacking. At one point Maj. Gen. Nelson Miles came to his aid, informing the adjutant general, "He has served under my observation for years, and I have seen him bathing in the surf on the Pacific Coast, and am aware that he has varicose veins and am also aware that hundreds of officers are similarly affected, yet this fact did not prevent him from . . . commanding one of the largest camp(s) of regular troops that has been together for a number of years, at Monterey, Cal."⁵

Shafter left San Francisco temporarily to command American troops in Cuba during the Spanish-

3. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Shafter, June 30, 1890, to the Secretary of War, and Miles, March 25, 1893, Shafter Papers, Stanford University, California. In an 1890 letter requesting a promotion, Shafter forgot to sign his letter. A friend in Washington clipped Shafter's signature from another letter and pasted it in.

American War. He retired from the Army in 1901, settling on his ranch near Bakersfield, California, where he died in 1906. A large marker identifies his resting place in the San Francisco National Cemetery.⁶

Between Shafter and the next permanent commander, Col. Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, 4th Cavalry, commanded the Presidio for two months in 1897. A remarkable cavalry officer, he had enlisted as a private early in the Civil War. By 1865 he was a breveted brigadier general of volunteers. Young saw action against Western Indians on several occasions. In Cuba in 1898 he commanded a cavalry brigade. A year later he served in the Philippines. A major general by 1901 he commanded the Department of California. In 1903, promoted to lieutenant general, he was appointed the first modern chief of staff of the U.S. Army. Following Young's retirement in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him acting superintendent of Yellowstone National Park with the unsuccessful assignment of removing army troops from administering national parks. General Young died in 1924 at Helena, Montana.⁷

When Shafter was promoted to the general officer ranks, Evan Miles succeeded him as colonel of the 1st Infantry and as such commanded the Presidio of San Francisco from May 1897 to March 1898. Miles had received a commission in the Regular Army at the beginning of the Civil War. An infantryman, he received brevet commissions in that war, in the Nez Perce War of 1877, and in actions at the Umatilla Agency in Oregon in 1878. Promoted to brigadier general of volunteers in the Spanish-American War, Miles retired in 1899 after thirty-eight years of active service.⁸

B. The Fort and the Community

A conflict in commitments put the Presidio's 1st Artillery Band in an awkward position in the summer of 1888. Earlier, the post commander had promised San Francisco's Bohemian Club that the band would entertain during the weekend of the club's annual "pic-nic." Now, however, the division commander, General Howard, wished the band to be at the Presidio for some unidentified memorial

6. Webster's *American Military Biographies*.

7. Ibid., David G. Battle and Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone, Yellowstone National Park, Historic Structure Report* (Denver: National Park Service, 1972), pp. 58-60. Young had earlier served as acting superintendent of Yellowstone while still on active duty.

8. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

services that same weekend. While the outcome remains unknown, a wise post commander passed the problem on to a general's aide.⁹

Nelson Miles, "the Brave Peacock," thoroughly enjoyed his time as the Division of the Pacific's commander, 1888-1890, in the midst of which he received his second star. He wrote, "I was intensely interested in the Pacific coast country. I loved the freedom, enterprise, and manly qualities of the splendid type of American citizenship found there." But he found the coastal defenses in a deplorable state. In 1889 he carefully escorted a group of visiting U.S. Senators on army steamer *General McDowell* around the bay. Stopping at the Presidio wharf the party rode out to Fort Point where Miles made sure it saw the dismantled guns lying everywhere as well as the few rifled guns that were mounted. The newspaper reported, "It is well known that General Miles takes great interest in the subject, and . . . this will enable him to speak with some authority on [armament]."

In his annual report for that year, Miles asked for \$500,000 for quarters and barracks on the Pacific Coast and \$30 million for 573 modern guns and mortars. He pointed out that in the past fifteen years the eastern and central portions of the country had received 96% of the Army's appropriations, while the Pacific Coast, with 25% of the Army's strength, had struggled along with only 4%. Within a few years of Miles' departure from San Francisco, the U.S. Congress authorized the modernization of the nation's defenses on all coasts, the so-called Endicott era.¹⁰

Presidio troops paraded in San Francisco on all public occasions. In April 1889 in observance of the 100th birthday of the United States of America's first presidential elections, first Congress under the Constitution, and President George Washington's inauguration, the Presidio turned out en masse – five foot batteries of artillery, two light (mounted) batteries, two companies of infantry, and two troops of cavalry. In May 1891 Presidio soldiers, along with units from Angel and Alcatraz islands, marched in the

9. Maj. J. Rodgers, August 14, 1898, to Lt. Greble, ADC, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. At that time many Presidio commanders belonged to the Bohemian Club. An excellent discussion of the club may be found in Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*.

10. Nelson A. Miles, *Serving the Republic: Memoirs of the Civil and Military Life of Nelson A. Miles* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), p. 231; Miles, *Annual Report, 1889*, pp. 6-7; Brian C. Pohanka, ed., *Nelson A. Miles, A Documentary Biography of His Military Career, 1861-1903* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1985), p. 26; *Daily Alta California*, October 19 and 31, 1889; *San Francisco Examiner*, May 10, 1889. Coastal defenses are discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Memorial Day ceremonies in the city. In January 1894 they participated in the dedication exercises of the Midwinter International Exposition. On another Memorial Day, in 1897, an infantry battalion from the Presidio escorted the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, after warning them to be on time because the troops had to be back in the Presidio by noon.¹¹

A steady stream of U.S. government officials made their way to the reservation over the years. These visitors kept the troops busy with spit and polish during April 1891. First came Secretary of the Army Redfield Proctor who inspected the troops. Three weeks later President Benjamin Harrison undertook a similar task:

On the arrival at and departure from this Post of His Excellency the President of the United States, a salute of 21 guns will be fired by Light Battery F, 5th Artillery.

The assembly of trumpeters for the review will be sounded at 1:15 p.m. Assembly will be at 1:30.

A salute of 21 guns will be fired from Fort Winfield Scott tomorrow the 28th instant in honor of His Excellency the President of the United States as he passes the fort going out about 10:45 a.m. and again when he passes it returning about 1:30 p.m. The salute will be fired by Battery B, 5th Artillery.¹²

Brig. Gen. Adolphus Greely, the famed Arctic explorer now the Army's Chief Signal Officer, visited San Francisco about the same time as the president, taking a room at the Palace Hotel. Apparently he did not visit the Presidio officially and the record is unclear if he made a social visit. Lt. Gen. John Schofield, who had commanded the Pacific Division years earlier and now commanding general of the U.S. Army, returned to California in the summer of 1891. An aide published a notice that the general would set aside a time for which the Presidio officers could pay their respects in a body. Apparently Schofield retained fond memories of the Presidio for he returned again in 1894 and 1895, the latter just before his

11. Post Returns, PSF, 1889-1894; Lt. Croxton, May 18, 1897, to Mr. Chas. H. Blinn, George H. Thomas Post 2, GAR, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

12. Post Returns, PSF, April 1891; Orders 99, April 27, 1891, Post Orders 1890-1891, PSF, RG 393, NA.

retirement. This time a cavalry squadron met him at the Central (Presidio) Avenue gate and escorted him to a reviewing stand on the cavalry drill field east of the main post.¹³

Troops observed the death of the former President Rutherford B. Hayes in January 1893 with a parade. The 8-inch guns fired a dawn salute of thirteen guns; 30-minute guns fired from sunrise to sunset; and at the close of day the sounds of a 44-gun salute rolled over the hills. Brig. Gen. Thomas Ruger sent word from division headquarters later that month that he would review, but not inspect the command. He desired to observe a short light artillery drill. Another division commander, Brig. Gen. James W. Forsyth, reviewed the troops in the spring of 1895, having borrowed Presidio horses for himself and an aide.¹⁴

When Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson visited San Francisco in 1893, the Presidio went all out. When steamer *Corona* passed Fort Point, two batteries of the 5th Artillery fired a salute of nineteen guns from 10-inch smooth-bore guns. A troop from the 4th Cavalry, in full dress, met the ship at the Broadway Street pier and escorted the vice-president to his hotel. The next day Stevenson reviewed and inspected the Presidio command, again receiving a 19-gun salute.¹⁵

Foreign visitors also received the appropriate honors on visits to the Presidio. In 1888 the captain of Mexican Ship of War *Corbetta* paid his respects to Colonel Graham, who then visited the vessel. Mexican General de Brigada Francisco Olivares reviewed the Presidio troops three years later. The unnamed captain of a Japanese warship visited in 1892. Colonel Graham extended an invitation to the Japanese consul at San Francisco, M. Odagini, to make use of the Presidio grounds when observing the July 4 celebrations. Francis Ferdinand, the Archduke of Austria, traveling incognito, visited the Presidio in 1893, requesting no official courtesies. Capt. Albrecht Hesse, attaché to the Imperial German Embassy, asked permission to see the new Dynamite Battery (experimental pneumatic guns firing dynamite) in

13. Lt. Finley, telephone call re Greely, April 29, 1891; AADC Woodruff, June 23, 1891, to CO, PSF, both in Register of Letters Received 1891, PSF; Orders 161, July 5, 1891, Post Orders 1891-1892, PSF; Lt. Galbraith, June 17, 1895, to Lt. Col. S.B.M. Young, Letters Sent, PSF, all in RG 393, NA.

14. Orders 16, January 19, 1893, Post Orders 1892-1893, PSF; AAG, Department of California, April 25, 1893, to CO, PSF; and J.F. Bell, March 14, 1895; Register of Letters Received, 1893-1895, PSF; AAG, Department of California, April 4, 1894, Register of Letters Sent 1894, PSF, RG 393, NA.

15. Orders 150, July 18, and 151, July 19, 1893, Post Orders 1892-1893, PSF; AAG, Department of California, July 18, 1893, Register of Letters Received 1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

1895. Colonel Graham sent a note to the Imperial Russian Consulate in San Francisco in 1896 regretting that he could not accept an invitation due to a previous engagement. A French naval lieutenant from ship *Duguay-Tronin* received permission in 1897 to take magnetic observations from Rob Hill. Army headquarters directed that he be afforded every facility for the work.¹⁶

Perhaps the most exotic visitors to San Francisco in the nineteenth century were the continuing visits of the kings and queens of Hawaii, those lovely islands of sugar cane and strategic Pearl Harbor. In 1850 Alexander Liholiho, later King Kamehameha IV, and his brother Lot visited California. Prince Lot, as King Kamehameha V, "the Bachelor King," returned to San Francisco in 1860, the first reigning monarch to visit California.

In 1883 the treaty of commercial reciprocity between the Hawaii Kingdom and the United States expired. This caused the Hawaiian sugar industry to worry. Then, in 1887, the U.S. Congress favored a renewal of the treaty only if the United States gained exclusive use of the undeveloped Pearl Harbor as a naval station. King Kalahua at first opposed this proposal but reluctantly gave his approval later that year.

Then, in 1890 when affairs in the kingdom were in turmoil, Kalahua returned to San Francisco, this time concerned about his health. Arriving on USS *Charleston* he was well received, San Francisco throwing receptions, balls, and dinners in his honor. He took a trip south to San Diego but, on returning, suffered a mild stroke at Santa Barbara. Returning to the Palace Hotel, the king became unconscious and died on January 20, 1891, of Bright's disease, age fifty-four years.

Once the king's body was placed in a mortuary, Colonel Graham received an order to provide a mortuary guard of one lieutenant and six enlisted men. When USS *Charleston* sailed from San Francisco bearing the body home, Graham sent a message to Alcatraz asking to be informed by signal when Alcatraz fired the last minute gun from there so that Fort Point could begin firing as *Charleston* passed.¹⁷

16. Post Adjutant, August 18, 1888, to Alexander K. Coney; Graham, May 22, to V. Antsimovitch, and June 27, 1896, to Saburo Koya; Lt. J. Jones, September 6, 1895, to Mr. Batcheller, Letters Sent, PSF; Orders 146, June 17, 1891, Post Orders 1891-1892, PSF; Department of California, December 9, 1892, and September 13, 1893, to CO, PSF; M. Odagini, July 12, 1893, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received, 1892-1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

17. John E. Baur, "When Royalty Came to California," *California History* 67: 244-265; Wismiewski, *The Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom*, pp. 67-68 and 89-90; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time, A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1968), pp. 252, 261, and 263; Erwin N. Thompson, *Pacific Ocean*

The fort and the city generally cooperated in matters of law and order and fire protection. In 1890 the post commander wrote the mayor asking that a force of city police be present when the California National Guard held maneuvers on the drill field. A large crowd of citizens always gathered to witness the annual affair and the services of the police had been great the previous year. Colonel Graham wrote to both the San Francisco chief of police and the chief of the fire department in 1894 saying that the forces of both had permission to enter the Presidio at all points and to use all the reservation roads.¹⁸

C. The Garrison

Brig. Gen. Nelson Miles assumed command of the Division of the Pacific in the fall of 1888. His aide de camp of Geronimo fame, Lt. Charles B. Gatewood, informed the Presidio that renovations had not yet been completed at the general's residence at Fort Mason and Miles would not be occupying the house until they were. The general had, however, already received the Presidio officers at the headquarters in San Francisco. They had assembled at the Alameda then traveled to the city in a body for that purpose. Gatewood again entered the Presidio's records when he gave a lecture at the University of California at Berkeley the following spring.¹⁹

Colonel Graham may not have met Gatewood but he had enough problems with his own officers. One

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Engineers, History of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Pacific, 1905-1980 (Honolulu [1983]), pp. 13-15; Graham, January 26, 1891, to CO, Alcatraz, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Later, Pvt. John W. Horrocks, 5th Artillery, asked for the remission of a portion of the sentence imposed on him by a court martial. He was refused, his offense having occurred while escorting the king's remains. Whatever he did, he brought disgrace on the uniform of the U.S. soldier on a sacred and public occasion in the San Francisco Trinity Church. Horrocks, April 25, 1891, Register of Letters Received 1891, PSF, RG 393, NA.

18. Langdon, February 18, 1890, to the Mayor of San Francisco; Graham, December 27, 1894, to Chief of Police and Chief of Fire Department, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

19. C.B. Gatewood, December 12, 1888, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1888-1889; Circular 41, November 27, 1888, Post Orders 1888-1889, PSF; H. Harris, March 5, 1889, to G.F.E. Harrison, Professor of Military Science, Berkeley, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Gatewood had served in Arizona under both Generals Crook and Miles. Instrumental in persuading Geronimo to surrender, Gatewood became an aide to Miles but did not receive official recognition of his accomplishment, apparently because of his earlier association with Crook, whom Miles disliked. Gatewood too lived at Fort Mason. He retired from the Army in 1892 and died four years later. Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles & the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1893), pp. 156-57. Gatewood's topic was not recorded. Did he, perhaps, discuss his role in the capture of the Apache leader Geronimo?

was Capt. Elias Van A. Andruss, 1st Artillery, a battery commander. According to Graham Andruss disobeyed the regulations when forming his battery at dress parades, reviews, and inspections. An unforgiving colonel also noted that Andruss had dared to write directly to the general commanding the Army about Graham. It did not take the commander a moment to recommend Andruss be tried before a general court martial. A similar fate befell Maj. John A. Darling, 5th Artillery, in 1894. Darling's sin was his failure to pay his bills. Among the delinquencies was his involvement with the Bohemian Club where Darling's name was "publicly gazetted on the black list" for failing to settle his debts over a period of three years. Graham advised the several claimants against Darling to write the War Department.²⁰

Graham even got after Lt. Col. S.B.M. Young, 4th Cavalry, who arrived at the Presidio in 1894. Young had dared to come on reservation without reporting to Graham. The colonel wrote, "I have no official knowledge of this officer's presence on my post. He has not reported to me or to my adjutant. Graham recommended that the Department of California admonish Young."²¹

The San Francisco depot quartermaster, Lt. Col. G. E. Lee, ran into Graham's ire in 1895 when the Quartermaster Department became involved in planting trees that eventually became the Presidio Forest. Lee had made an arrangement with Golden Gate Park to exchange some "excess" Presidio earth for trees to plant in the vicinity of Mountain lake. When Graham learned of this he exploded, "I strenuously object to this transaction which is irregular and unauthorized." He said he would not permit the removal of any earth and that the depot quartermaster had exceeded his authority. In the end Colonel Lee learned not to use the pronouns "we" and "us" in his correspondence. Henceforth, regarding tree matters he carefully wrote "the Quartermaster General directs."²²

Death came to the officer ranks in 1889. In April the post surgeon noted that Capt. Lowell A. Chamberlin, commanding Battery C, 1st Artillery, had reported on sick call. Chamberlin had joined the Army with the rank of sergeant at the beginning of the Civil War. In 1866 he became a lieutenant in the

20. Graham, September 18, 1888, to Department of California, Letters Sent, and December 24, 1894, 9th indorsement, Register of Letters Received 1894-1895, PSF, RG 393, NA. Both officers escaped Graham's wrath, Andruss retiring in 1902 with the rank of colonel, and Darling retiring in 1897.

21. Graham, April 26, 1894, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA. The two officers later cooperated in a futile effort to stop the planting of trees on the reservation. Young transferred to Yellowstone National Park in 1894 and, eventually, became the first modern chief of staff, U.S. Army.

22. J.B.C. Lee, November 6, 1895; Graham, November 11, 1895, Register of Letters Received 1895-1896, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Regular Army's 1st Artillery Regiment and served in it until the present with but one short break. Post Orders in August announced with deep regret the captain's death saying that the funeral would take place in the post chapel and burial in the national cemetery. In 1904 the War Department named the battery of four 6-inch guns on disappearing carriages in the southwest portion of the Presidio reservation in Chamberlin's honor.²³

One of the more remarkable officers assigned to the Presidio arrived in July 1889 – sort of. A few days later the post commander wrote that Asst. Surg. Leonard Wood showed up at post headquarters dressed in civilian clothing. He was told he could leave the post until his uniforms arrived and then to report officially. Now the commander had received orders for Wood to proceed to Monterey for maneuvers but he had not yet returned to the Presidio in uniform or out.

Wood had graduated from Harvard Medical School and joined the Army as an assistant surgeon in 1886. Almost immediately he made a name for himself, not as a surgeon but as a leader and a soldier in the campaign against Geronimo in Arizona that year. Some time later he received the Medal of Honor for distinguished service in the battle. There is no doubt but that General Miles, now commanding at San Francisco, caused Wood's transfer to the Presidio.²⁴

Surgeon Wood, although somewhat shy in social circles, made a good impression on all who met him. Large in build, muscular, tow-headed with a mustache to match, women found him attractive and men considered him an outdoor man. His biographer wrote, "Miles himself picked Wood for a certain combination he possessed of intelligence, physical power, and resolute spirit." Wood enjoyed the Presidio from the beginning, and he was one officer that Colonel Graham genuinely liked. Although he played only a little tennis and baseball, he kept himself in shape by having weights in his room at the

23. Post Surgeon, April 2, 1889, Register of Letters Received, 1889; Orders 205, August 9, 1889, Post Orders 1899, PSF, RG 393, NA. Between 1849 and 1897 the Presidio's post returns recorded the deaths of 16 officers and 123 enlisted men. Not all were buried in the national cemetery. The largest number of deaths occurred in the last year of the Civil War, 1865, and the year of the Modoc War, 1873.

24. Wood's Medal of Honor citation: "Voluntarily carried dispatches through a region infested with hostile Indians, making a journey of 70 miles in one night and walking 30 miles the next day. Also for several weeks, while in close pursuit of Geronimo's band and constantly expecting an encounter, commanded a detachment of Infantry, which was then without an officer, and the command of which he was assigned upon his own request." U.S. Senate, 90th Cong., 2d sess., *Medal of Honor, 1863-1968* (Washington: USGPO, 1968), p. 332.

Corral and by hiking prodigiously. His favorite sport was football, which at that time only the rougher element in San Francisco played. Wood's participation did much to make the game "respectable." His team, the Olympics, played the University of California in 1892 and, later, he formed and captained an all-Army team. Society now cheered its football hero.

In 1890 Wood visited Washington, D.C., and became engaged to Louise Condit-Smith, a ward of a Supreme Court justice. The entire Court attended their wedding. Back at the Presidio, Wood and his wife and baby accompanied the Cavalry to spend the summer at Yosemite National Park, "We will see the valley together, while all the falls are full. . . . It sounds like the roar of a heavy surf in the valley." All good things must come to an end, or to a new beginning, and the Wood family transferred to Fort McPherson, Georgia in 1893.²⁵

At the Presidio Dr. Wood became acquainted with Capt. Abram E. Wood, 4th Cavalry, one of the better young officers in the Army. Abram, nicknamed "Jug," had the unfortunate habit of crossing Colonel Graham. On one occasion Graham reported that Abram had instructed him as to how he should command the post and compared Graham to other post commanders. Again, when Wood showed apparent disrespect, Graham recommended a court martial. But fate had another path for Abram. Toward the end of his Presidio assignment, Leonard Wood treated the cavalry officer for cancer of the tongue. Before Leonard's departure, Abram wrote, "I must express to you my great sense of obligation for your past good care and your present solicitude." Capt. A.E. Wood died at the Presidio in April 1894.²⁶

25. *Webster's American Military Biographies*; Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, A Biography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923) 2 vols. 1:68, 84, 115-131; Langdon, July 24, 1889, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive, General Leonard Wood* (San Rafael, CA, Presidio Press, 1978), pp. 18-21.

In 1895 Leonard Wood became the White House physician to President Grover Cleveland, then to President William McKinley. Theodore Roosevelt was a close friend and the two of them organized the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (Rough Riders) for combat in Cuba where Wood became a brigadier general. As military governor of Cuba he instituted governmental reforms. Next came a tour in the Philippines where he governed a rebellious province. In 1906 he took command of the Department of the Philippines. General Wood became the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, in 1910. A brilliant administrator and the first truly effective chief, he instituted reforms leading to a modern army. He entered politics and in 1920 became a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, losing to Warren G. Harding. General Wood died in Boston in 1927 following surgery for a cerebral tumor.

26. Graham, September 3 and December 6, 1891, and April 14, 1894, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, 1:129-130.

Another 4th Cavalry officer, Capt. James Parker, who knew both the Woods, arrived at the Presidio of San Francisco in 1891. Perhaps because his father was Colonel Graham's first cousin, Parker got along with the colonel, but said that Graham was a strict disciplinarian. Parker and his family came west by train to Oakland where they boarded a government boat that took them to the Presidio where "the wind coming in from the Pacific was cold and blowing fiercely." The Parkers quickly adjusted to the new station and to the city:

San Francisco was in truth at that time a most beguiling and entertaining city. . . . It was then more like an overgrown mining camp or Deadwood City. It was a town where pleasure reigned. Restaurants like Marchard's, Cafe Riche, "The Poodle Dog," "The Pup," "The Maison Doree" and others devoted their upper stories, like Parisian cafe's, to private rooms and suites. The best season for the theatres was the summer, when dramatic companies from New York and the East played at prices less by half than those charged in the eastern states. The Trivoli Theatre, admission twenty-five cents, had an excellent opera company which, during the season, went through the whole gamut of opera bouffe and comic opera [sic]. The hotels were good and excellently conducted. At the Hotel Occidental the proprietor was in the general habit of presenting his guests on departure with baskets of fruit and flowers.

He added, "My old acquaintance [from Arizona], Dr. Leonard Wood, now married was at the post."

Once, when Parker was officer of the day, he inspected the guard posts. As is still the custom, he asked each guard to quote his orders. One guard responded, "If I see a red light hoisted on the flagstaff on Alcatraz Island I am to call the corporal of the guard." This puzzled Parker and he set out to learn why. He finally discovered that five years earlier an artillery officer on Alcatraz named Joshua A. Fessenden was on the point of death. At the Presidio a popular young lieutenant had waited for a vacancy to occur that would allow him to be promoted to captain. Arrangements were made that when Joshua breathed his last Alcatraz would hoist a light to announce the occasion. Captain Fessenden recovered; the sentinel never saw such a signal; Colonel Graham canceled the order.²⁷

As strict a disciplinarian as he was, Colonel Graham insisted that his officers treat their enlisted men with civility. This trait has not been found in the correspondence involving other commanders in that era. In 1890 Graham notified Lt. Wilmot Ellis, 5th Artillery, that he as officer of the day had caused the sentinel Pvt. Thomas Beasley to stand at "Arms Post" for thirty-three minutes. Furthermore, Ellis had told the

27. James Parker, *The Old Army, Memories, 1872-1918* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, ca. 1929), microfilm, University of Colorado, Boulder, pp. 150, 196-198.

private he could stand there until he dropped dead. Other abuse followed. Graham demanded that Ellis report the circumstance in writing. On another occasion Graham notified Capt. Benjamin Roberts, 5th Artillery, that the captain had abused an orderly on official business with the remark, "God damn you wait till I dismount, follow me up to my barracks." Graham admonished Roberts to be more considerate of soldiers in the future.²⁸

The colonel kept an eye out for mistreated animals as well as privates. Twice in one summer he reported civilians on the reservation whom he accused of cruelty to their horses to the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In the first instance a man named Portlany insisted on forcing a lame horse hauling gravel to work harder, even after Graham directed the man's attention to the injury. Two weeks later he came across a driver beating his horse with a plank until it broke. Graham got his hands on one of the pieces that was nearly a yard long. He saved it as evidence.²⁹

During these years military prisoners from Alcatraz came to the Presidio daily to carry out menial tasks such as crushing rock at the quarries. In April 1892 a guard over these prisoners shot and killed Convict Charles Cortrite who attempted to escape. Plans first called for the body to be buried in the national cemetery, but objections arose and the body was removed from the reservation.³⁰

An inspector general in 1891 noted the number of married enlisted men living in quarters on the main post and at Fort Point. He reported that so many married soldiers were an encumbrance to a command as well as an added and illegitimate expense to the government. He recommended that the best way to be rid of the problem was to tear down "all the crumbling rookeries" they occupied. Colonel Graham objected strenuously saying that he did not consider them to be an expense to the government and their presence was no evil. They should be left in peace until the areas involved were otherwise needed at some future time.

28. J. Coffin, September 10, 1890, to W.E. Ellis; A. Blunt, December 8, 1893, to B.K. Roberts, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

29. Graham, August 22 and September 7, 1896, to C.B. Holbrook, SPCA, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

30. E. Young, another military prisoner, attempted to implicate the guard for being in a drunken brawl with the prisoners. He was unsuccessful. W.C. Davis, April 16, 1892, to Coroner, San Francisco; Graham, December 16, 1891, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

As tolerant as Graham was of enlisted families, Colonel Shafter stood wholly against the concept. In January 1897 he refused to approve the application from a married man for reenlistment. He was again put to the test when a 1st sergeant, married and having one child and with an excellent reputation, applied for his second reenlistment. Shafter disapproved, saying that if men could enlist as single and then marry, all efforts to keep married men out of the service would be futile.³¹

The Presidio lost one of its best soldiers in 1893 when Sgt. Maj. Robert West of the 5th U.S. Cavalry died. A sergeant major was the highest ranking enlisted man in a regiment. In terms of power and authority, the sergeant major ranked somewhere near the colonel commanding the regiment. Although second lieutenants technically were his superior officers, a wise lieutenant took care to cultivate and maintain good relations with the sergeant major. The funeral took place in the Catholic chapel on the second floor of the gun shed in the stables area (then building 50) and interment took place in the national cemetery. Sgt. Max R. Welch, Battery K, succeeded West as the regimental sergeant major.³²

Among the saddest letters received at an army post were those of parents inquiring of their sons. One such letter appealed for the return of an underage son who had enlisted as a trumpeter. In this instant the Army agreed that he would never become either a good soldier or a good trumpeter and concluded that it would be in the best interest of the service to send him home. In response to the father's request, the sad response was that the lad had been arrested as a deserter and was in confinement. Later Graham learned that the only charge against the soldier was one of fraudulent enlistment. The records did not disclose the outcome.³³

An important function of a well run post at that time was the continuing education of enlisted men. The Presidio maintained a school house, usually run by the post chaplain and better educated enlisted men. In 1889 Colonel Langdon prepared a list of textbooks he wished to acquire:

31. Shafter, January 28, and November 23, 1897, Register of Letters Received 1897, PSF, RG 393, NA.

32. Orders 285, December 25, 1892, and Orders 16, January 19, 1893, Post Orders 1892-1893, PSF, RG 393, NA.

33. Mrs. J.P. Blunt, May 23, 1892, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1892; Graham, July 16, 1896, to A.R. Tucker, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Swinton's or Harper's Introductory Geography
 Robin's First Book in Arithmetic
 Complete Arithmetic
 Willard's History of the United States for Schools
 Bancroft's First Reader
 Worcester's Speller
 Gould Brown's First Lines of English Grammar
 Spencerian System of Writing
 Pamphlet Copies of the Constitution of the United States of Amerika [sic]

Later he recommended foolscap paper, lead pencils, steel pens, pen holders, slates, slate pencils, chalk, ink, blackboards, and sponges. He mentioned being satisfied with the schoolhouse, including the sixteen-foot long desks and benches that seated six men each. While Chaplain George W. Dunbar favored soldier instructors, Langdon was not adverse to having junior officers as teachers.³⁴

In the earliest days of the American Presidio, nearly all the garrison had extra duties to perform with little time to perfect the science of soldiering. By 1890 when the Presidio had a greatly enlarged garrison, a large number of soldiers were employed as extra and daily duty men in addition to their regular duties while the bulk went about training in the arts of war. Civilians, also employed, had not yet reached the number they would in future years.

List of extra and daily duty personnel, July 1890

Overseers, clerks, and laborers, Quartermaster	
teamsters	assistants, Canteen
carpenters	librarian
plumbers	overseer, target range
painters and tinnerns	clerk, recruiting office
lamplighter	laborer, Ordnance
printers	mail carrier
school teachers	telegraph operator
laborers, Subsistence	gardeners
clerks, Adjutant's office	cooks and assistants ³⁵
bakers	

34. Langdon, July 4, 1889, and April 1890, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

35. Orders 192, July 22, 1890, Post Orders 1889-1890, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Colonel Graham's duties from time to time involved recognizing outstanding accomplishments by his soldiers. Such was the case in 1890 when he happily presented a bronze medal to Sgt. Samuel Adams, Troop K, 4th Cavalry, for accomplishments in small arms competition.³⁶

D. Social Events

When the English writer and poet Rudyard Kipling, visited San Francisco in 1889, he tartly took note of the harbor defenses, "San Francisco is a mad city – inhabited for the most part by perfectly insane people whose women are of a remarkable beauty." As for the defenses, "When the *City of Peking* steamed through the Golden Gate I saw with great joy that the blockhouse which guarded the mouth of the "finest harbor in the world, Sir," could be silenced by two gun-boats from Hong Kong with safety, comfort, and dispatch." Although Kipling was not known as a strategist, San Francisco's defenses were not notably strong at that time.³⁷

About the same time the officer in charge of the Presidio's cavalry, Lt. Col. Anson Mills, 4th Cavalry, described his impressions of the city and the post,

This large post, adjacent to a very large and interesting city, was the most enjoyable station we ever had. The children enjoyed it, Anson going to school and Constance having a good teacher at home.

Numerous balls, dances, and other amusements in addition to strenuous duties, kept us all busy and healthy. Here, again, we had the good fortune to have Doctor Leonard Wood, then a regular army doctor, as our family physician.³⁸

In 1897 another lieutenant colonel, this time of infantry, William Henry Bisbee, found the Presidio most agreeable:

The grounds were ample; the garrison force embraced all three arms of the service for better and more extended work of an interesting kind. Colonel Evan "Paddy" Miles commanded the Post, but General Shafter still living there [at nearby Fort Mason] kept

36. Graham, September 26, 1890, to Inspector of Small Arms Practice, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

37. Rudyard Kipling, *American Notes*, p. 15.

38. Anson Mills, *My Story*, ed. C.H. Claudy (Washington, 1921), p. 199.

his eye on the general welfare, which Miles did not quite fancy. . . . the rest of us were happy. I found many hours off duty in which to drive friends over a favorite 20 mile course with the black team. All in three hours, to the top of Fortification [Rob?] Hill, overlooking the Farallone Islands; through Golden Gate Park to the Cliff House; up the ocean drive three miles and back home for luncheon.³⁹

The ancient adobe at the head of the parade ground, now called the Assembly Room or Hall, provided a social center for officers and their families. When Colonel Langdon took over the post, he joined the Regimental Officers Mess. There he found all sorts of liquor for sale by glass and bottle. He thought this was not a good practice but decided he needed clarification concerning regulations on the sale of intoxicating liquor on a military reservation.

A post circular in 1888 disclosed that it was the custom at the Presidio for the officers and their families to attend concerts in the Assembly Hall on Tuesday evenings. And formal hops were regular social events. On one occasion the bachelor officers proposed to hold an informal hop and not send out invitations. Rather, officers could bring whomever they wished. Colonel Graham thought this was not a good idea. Instead, the bachelors should send formal invitations reading, "The Bachelors Mess at the Presidio request the pleasure, etc." He said that if they followed his advice they could have the room and five members of the regimental band providing they were paid \$1 each. During his regime, Graham also issued orders forbidding card games and billiards in the building on Sundays.⁴⁰

The marriage of Lt. Milton Davis, 4th Cavalry, raised a fuss in 1894. His fellow cavalymen wished to entertain the couple at a hop in the hall. They proposed to hire an orchestra from San Francisco. Colonel Graham objected. If the cavalry wanted music they should employ the string section from his artillery band.⁴¹

The nineteenth century Army did not officially recognize the existence of the families of officers or men. When assigning quarters, the Army did not take into account the number of dependents that might be in a

39. Bisbee, *Through Four American Wars*, pp. 235-236.

40. Langdon, October 15, 1889, to War Department; J. Coffin, July 19, 1892, to G.W.I. Stevens; H. Harris, November 5, 1888, to President of the Council of Administration, Letters Sent, PSF; Circular, December 27, 1887, Post Orders 1887-1888, PSF, RG 393, NA.

41. H.E. Benson, March 19, 1894, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1894, RG 393, NA.

family, but only the officer's seniority – colonels had first choice, second lieutenants came last, and in all cases by date of rank. When an officer died on active duty, his family had to give up its quarters promptly and move off post. There were rare occasions, however, when the Army showed it had a heart. Such was the case of the Widow Caroline B. Andrews. Her husband, Col. George P. Andrews, had commanded the Presidio before retiring in the Bay Area in the early 1880s, after forty-four years of active duty. When he died in 1887, he left his wife with meager resources (their only child had died). Mrs. Andrews appealed to the Army for quarters on the Presidio. Such was against regulations of course, but it so happened that the Presidio needed a postmistress for whom quarters could be allocated. She lived on the reservation for several years, sometimes in vacant quarters at the main post, at other times in officers' quarters at Fort Point. The post office operated out of a room formerly occupied by a battery tailor at the main post. Enlisted men's wives received consideration on occasion also. When the 24th Infantry Regiment transferred to the Philippines in 1900, accommodations for the wives of enlisted men were found in empty buildings in East Cantonment.

About this time the Department of California inquired how many civilians lived on the reserve. Besides Mrs. Andrews, an old man named J. Monahan occupied an "old house" on the flat between the main post and Fort Point. Another was Mr. Ryan, a blacksmith in the Quartermaster Department. A civilian watchman, McAudiffe, also worked for the Quartermaster. He lived in a shanty on the bluff. The gate keepers at First (Arguello) and Central (Presidio) avenues were pensioned soldiers; and the gatekeeper at Lombard Street was a retired ordnance sergeant. These three men received no compensation, other than lodging.⁴²

The Presidio's children ("Army brats") generated considerable correspondence as did the children living near the reservation. Orders published in 1890 noted that some of them pulled up the saplings that had recently been planted. Others had wreaked havoc on flower beds in the Alameda. A band of small thieves took \$13.74 worth of produce from the commissary storehouse one dark night. Those guilty were ordered off the reserve and their parents had to reimburse the government. One boy's father appealed, to no avail. Boys from town occasionally got into trouble, usually for hunting rabbits or quail. In contrast, city youngsters were encouraged to play football on the drill field when it was not in use. On one occasion the San Francisco Boys Brigade came to the Presidio to drill and to examine the coast artillery guns "and

42. Langdon, July 18, 1889, to Department of California; C.P. Summerall, September 14, 1894, to Caroline Andrews, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

other points of interest." Then there were the sad occasions when a child died. In 1888 Sergeant Hofen lost a baby girl less than a month old. In 1892 Colonel Graham had to appeal to the Department to send a chaplain to officiate a child's burial that very day.⁴³

Chapels and chaplains continued to be topics for discussion through the 1890s. After Protestant Chaplain G.W. Dunbar transferred to Fort Bridger, Wyoming, in 1890, Colonel Langdon requested a replacement. He noted that Roman Catholics still had a chapel above the gun shed and had had so for the past twelve years, the clergy coming from the city. He did not think it wise for Protestants to attend church in the city because dangerous characters rode the streetcars on Sundays. No new chaplain arriving, Episcopalians at the Presidio organized to have ministers come to the post chapel on Sundays. These families informed The Right Rev. Bishop William F. Nichols, San Francisco, they could raise \$50 per month. The Rev. D.O. Kelley received the appointment. Colonel Graham sought to provide him with quarters, but higher headquarters disapproved.⁴⁴

No record has been found of the cavalry playing polo on the reservation at this time. Colonel Young, 4th Cavalry, however, secured permission in 1895 to march his entire cavalry squadron to Burlingame to witness a polo game between his 4th Cavalry Club and the Riverside Club. On another occasion Colonel Graham allowed a detachment of horse to take part in a tournament in San Francisco for the purpose of raising funds to erect a monument in memory of deceased soldiers at the national cemetery.⁴⁵

E. Military Training

Colonel Graham set forth the training schedule for the foot batteries in the spring of 1888. For the first half of June each battery would drill at field pieces. During the rest of the month they would drill at 4.5-inch siege guns and 8- and 10-inch siege mortars. These activities were to take place at Fort Point,

43. Orders 202, August 14, 1888, and July 8, 1890, Post Orders 1888-180; A. Blunt, May 10, 1893, to G. Adams; Lt. Galbraith, February 25, 1894, to J.C. Peters, and July 4, 1896, to Mr. Monaghan; Graham, August 5, 1896, to W.E. Fisher; J. Coffin, September 6, 1892, to J. Berry, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

44. Langdon, April 18, 1890, to War Department; Graham, February 3, 1893, to Department of California, and August 20, 1892, to W.F. Nichols, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

45. Young, April 4, 1895, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1895; Graham, October 5, 1895, to A.R. Holzheid, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

by then referred to as Fort Winfield Scott. Before he could put this plan into action, Graham learned that the Engineers would be working at Fort Point. Furthermore, part of the summer had to be devoted to small arms target practice for the department competition to begin in July. He asked the Department if he could postpone artillery drill until October.

Two years later orders set forth the daily drills for the light batteries:

Monday. Horse exercise with drivers. Cannoners drill at the school of the soldier dismounted. Squad drill and school of the cannoner "Drill Regulations."

Tuesday. Horse exercise with cannoners. Drivers drill at the school of the soldier dismounted. Squad drill and school of the cannoner "Drill Regulations."

Wednesday. Battery drill. Artillery tactics. Drilling at the service of the piece "Drill Regulations."

Inclement weather – drivers and cannoners at drill in "Drill Regulations," or horse exercise when practical.

Thursday. Same as Monday.

Friday. Horse exercise and battery and harness cleaning.

Saturday. Mounted inspection and horses turned out on herd afterwards.

During the following winter months instruction for the light artillery concentrated on athletics and exercising horses. Horsemanship involved no saddles, rough riding, teaching the horse to obey rider's voice, and teaching the man and the horse to rely on each other.

The following year, 1892, the War Department issued revised light artillery drill regulations. These called for drill in the School of the Soldier Dismounted, School of the Cannoner, The Sabre and Pistol, School of the Battery Dismounted, School of the Soldier Mounted, School of the Driver, School of the Battery,

and the School of the Battalion.⁴⁶

Cavalry troopers' training included heliograph and flag signaling. Practice marches as well as the annual marches to the national parks played important roles in their training. In 1891 Troop B, 4th Cavalry, for example, carried out a practice march of eight days. Infantry troops also participated in marches and spent time on the small arms and Gatling gun ranges.

In July 1889 the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a long article titled "A March to the Sea. From the Presidio to Monterey." It described how the troops, led by Colonel Shafter, consisted of 700 men, 150 horses and mules, a wagon train of sixteen vehicles with eight gun carriages and eight caissons marched to Monterey for a two-month encampment (today's Fort Ord). The paper gave General Miles credit for this activity, saying that in recent years the bay posts had been merely places of resort and recreation and the enlisted men mere laborers, servants, and guards, "A new order of things recently came into vogue – active service and drilling."⁴⁷

Since 1891 the cavalry troops had been protecting the national parks in California; then, in 1896, the Presidio's light artillery battalion had the opportunity to visit the wondrous Yosemite Valley. The train included six escort wagons with twenty-four mules and a Red Cross wagon drawn by four mules. Even the hospital steward was mounted. The battalion remained in the valley one week then returned via Monterey where it participated in ceremonies commemorating the American occupation of California on July 7, 1846. Colonel Graham noted that the bathing at Santa Cruz was very fine and benefited both soldier and horse.⁴⁸

46. Orders 128, May 23, 1888; Orders 48, February 23, and 321, December 13, 1890; Orders 149, July 15, 1892, Post Orders 1888-1892; Graham, June 22, 1888, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

47. CO, Troop F, 4th Cavalry, February 21, 1893, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received; Orders 257, October 3, 1889; Orders 213, September 11, 1891, Post Orders 1889-1891, PSF, RG 393, NA; *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 9, 1889 and December 12, 1895.

48. Graham, May 19, 1896, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Going

Uncle Tom's Cabin
(17 miles from Presidio)
Mayfield
San Jose
Madrone

Returning

Yosemite to Bell's Ferry
same as in going
Hollister
Primedale
Blanco

In the 1890s the Army explored the concept of moving troops by bicycles – the Bicycle Corps. A survey of the Presidio disclosed that six officers and sixty enlisted men (and one medical officer) knew how to ride bicycles.

As late as 1897 the Presidio still was sufficiently open (despite tree planting) to carry out simulated battle exercises. In April two opposing brigades were formed:

1st Brigade (the defense): Troops B and I, 4th Cavalry; Battery K, 3d Artillery; Companies G and I, 1st Infantry; and Light Battery C, 3d Artillery. Uniform: blouse and cap.

2d Brigade (the attack): Troops C and K, 4th Cavalry; Battery G, 3d Artillery; Companies A and E, 1st Infantry; and Light Battery I, 3d Artillery. Uniform: brown canvas and campaign hat.

Each man had twenty rounds of blank ammunition and the light batteries were issued powder charges. The problem set forth was the defense of Fort Point against a land attack, with operations limited to the reservation. Later that summer the command carried out similar exercises.⁴⁹

In the winter months during this decade Officers' Lyceums were established at the post. Each officer received topics on which he prepared and presented lectures. While the success of these lyceums seems to have varied greatly, the subjects covered a broad field:

(..continued)

Gilroy
Bell's Ferry
San Luis Ranch
Dixon's Ferry
Merced
Bennett's Ranch
Raymond
Cooks
Wawona
Yosemite

Monterey
Castroville
Watsonville
Santa Cruz
Pescadero
La Honda
Redwood City
Milbrae
Presidio

49. General Orders 10, March 31, 1897, Special Orders and General Orders, 1896-1897, PSF, RG 393, NA.

For Captains

Military Law
Minor Tactics
Administration

Lieutenants, Cavalry

Military Law
Field Engineering
Hippology
(the study of horses)
Minor Tactics
Administration
General Review

Lieutenants, Artillery

Military Law
Field Engineering
Minor Tactics

Administration
General Review

And so the Army trained for future wars, one of which lay just over the horizon.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, the Presidio became very much involved in strife of a different kind, one that resulted in fatalities. In 1894 employees of the Pullman Car Company went on strike and major outbreaks of violence occurred on a wide scale. President Grover Cleveland ordered the U.S. Army to quell the rioting at the scenes of violence. In California Colonel Shafter's infantry troops from Angel Island marched southward to Los Angeles from where they guarded the U.S. Mails on their eastward schedules as far as the Colorado River. At the Presidio Colonel Graham readied his 5th Artillery, reinforced by units from Alcatraz Island and Benicia Barracks (20 officers and 395 men), and prepared to move to Sacramento. At the state capital the troops took control of railroad property, expelling rioters. Cavalry units patrolled the city streets breaking up crowds near the railroads. Guards accompanied the trains between Sacramento and Truckee. On July 11 a train traveling two miles south of Sacramento derailed. Four privates guarding the train lost their lives in the accident: James Byrne, Peter Clark, George W. Lubberden, and Wesley C. Dougan. Eventually order and safety returned, and the Presidio troops returned to the post in late August. The following February Graham announced that a monument to the four men of Battery L, 5th Artillery, had been erected in the national cemetery.⁵¹

50. Orders 272, December 1, 1891, Post Orders 1891-1892, PSF, RG 393, NA.

51. Department of California Return July 1894, Adjutant General's Office, War Department, RG 94, NA; Graham, February 26, 1895, to F. Miller, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

F. U.S. Cavalry to the National Parks, 1891-1913

Horse soldiers rarely garrisoned the Presidio of San Francisco during its early years as an American military post. In 1848-1849 a detachment from the 1st U.S. Dragoon Regiment occupied the ancient adobe buildings. During the Civil War, 1862-1865, two troops of the California Volunteer Cavalry and a troop of the Native California Cavalry assisted the authorities in maintaining law and order in northern California. After the war, in 1865 and 1866, one troop from each of the 1st and 8th U.S. Cavalry remained at the Presidio for brief periods of time. Beginning in 1875, however, two troops of cavalry became an integral part of the garrison, from the 1st Cavalry, 1875-1884, and the 2d Cavalry, 1884-1890. they performed routine garrison duties including training, patrolling the large reservation on guard duty, escorting dignitaries visiting San Francisco, and such other tasks assigned.⁵²

In August 1886, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, a troop of the 1st U.S. Cavalry, arrived at Yellowstone National Park, the nation's first national park that had been established in 1872, to begin thirty years of park administration by the U.S. Army. In the fall of 1890 the federal government established three national parks in California: Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant. At the same time the Secretary of the Interior again turned to the War Department seeking troops to manage and protect these new parks. In May 1890 Troops I and K, 4th Cavalry, had arrived for duty at the Presidio of San Francisco and on January 13, 1891, the Secretary of War approved their assignments to the new parks for summer duty. Both units departed the Presidio on May 14, Troop I under the command of Capt. A.E. Wood heading for Yosemite and Capt. Joseph H. Dorst leading Troop K to Sequoia and General Grant national parks (the latter eventually becoming a part of Kings Canyon National Park).

These two officers and their successors became the acting superintendents of the parks spending the warmer months managing and patrolling the parks and the winter months back at the Presidio. The Army established a permanent post at Yellowstone, Fort Yellowstone, in 1908, but no such facility in the California parks. At Yosemite the troops first established a temporary headquarters at Wawona in the southern part of the park, while the Sequoia and General Grant troops occupied various points, sometimes setting up their headquarters outside the boundaries where more level land was available for the large number of men, animals, and wagons. When the State of California receded Yosemite Valley to the federal government in 1906, the cavalry moved the headquarters into the valley and named it Camp

52. PSF, Post Returns, 1847-1890.

A.E. Wood after that first commanding officer.⁵³

In 1894 four troops of the 4th Cavalry were stationed at the Presidio. Their commander, Lt. Col. S.B.M. Young, proposed that two of the troops be sent to Yosemite and one to Sequoia. Two years later the Secretary of the Interior furthered this concept requesting that two troops be sent to each park. Four troops marched from the Presidio:

The Cavalry Squadron consisting of Troops B, C, I, and K, 4th Cavy. under Lieut Col. S.B.M. Young, 4th Cavy. with a wagon train of 10 four-mule wagons, 2 Dougherty wagons with 4 mules each, a buck board with 2 mules, 4 saddle mules and pack train of 24 mules fully equipped, left the Post en route for the Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks at 9:00 o'clock A.M., May 3d 1896.

Troops B and K, 4th Cavalry arrived at Camp Wawona Cal. May 19th 96. Total distance marched 282-2/3 miles.

Troop C, 4th Cavalry, date of arrival at Three Rivers, Cal. not known.

Troop I, 4th Cavalry arrived at Genl. Grant Nat. Park, Cal., May 31st. Total distance marched 317-3/5 miles.⁵⁴

A cavalry officer described the departure of the 4th Cavalry from the Presidio one fine spring day. At the sounds of "Boots and Saddles," followed by "Assembly," some 200 mounted cavalymen assembled in front of the new brick barracks. They marched up the hill to the Central Avenue (Presidio Boulevard) gate. The post band played, "The Girl I Left Behind Me." The 4th's field and staff led the march followed by the four troops (Troop K's coal black horses leading). Then came a dozen or more four-mule army wagons, their white canvas covers blazing in the sun. Pack mules brought up the rear. Shortly after the column left Golden Gate Park, the troop dogs, who had escaped from arrest, caught up with their comrades for another great summer.⁵⁵

53. H. Duane Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), pp. 3, 130-131, 143-144, and 147. By 1912 Camp A.E. Wood consisted of six officers' quarters, two barracks, two lavatories, and a temporary hospital, all wood frame. J. Longstreet, Report of Construction, 1912, General Correspondence 1890-1914, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Two wood frame officers' quarters remain in Yosemite National Park and are in the Yosemite Village Historic District.

54. AG, Department of California, March 28, 1896, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA; PSF, Post Returns 1896. From 1905 to 1909 only three troops of Cavalry were stationed at the Presidio, two going to Yosemite, one to Sequoia.

55. J.A. Lockwood, "Uncle Sam's Troopers in the National Parks of California," *Overland Monthly* (April 1899), pp. 356-366.

A large part of the 4th Cavalry Regiment departed San Francisco for the Philippine Islands in June 1898, leaving only Troops B and M at the Presidio. The records remained silent as to whether they traveled to the national parks that summer. An outfit that did, the First Troop of Utah Volunteer Cavalry, departed the Presidio in September, visited both Yosemite and Sequoia, and returned to the Presidio in November where it was mustered out of the service.⁵⁶

The routes of travel to the parks were clearly set down in 1909 when Troops I and M, 14th Cavalry, left the post on April 15 for Yosemite; and Troop G departed on April 20 for Sequoia.

Presidio to Yosemite

April 15	Presidio to San Bruno	15.5 miles
April 16	San Bruno to Mayfield	20 miles
April 17	Mayfield to Santa Clara	13 miles
April 18	Santa Clara to Madrone	22 miles
April 19	Madrone to Wilson's Ranch (Gilroy)	19 miles
April 20	Wilson's Ranch to Mountain House	27 miles
April 21	Mountain House to Los Banos	25 miles
April 22	Los Banos to Firebough	28 miles
April 23	Firebough to Madera	25.5 miles
April 24	Madera to Raymond	24 miles
April 25	Raymond to Crooks Ranch	19 miles
April 26	Crooks Ranch to Wawona	25.5 miles
April 27	Wawona to Camp Yosemite	27 miles
Total		284.5 miles
actually		290.5 miles

Presidio to Sequoia

April 20	Presidio to San Bruno	15 miles
April 21	San Bruno to Mayfield	18 miles
April 22	Mayfield to Santa Clara	15 miles
April 23	Santa Clara to Morgan Hill	22 miles
April 24	Morgan Hill to Wilson's Ranch	18 miles
April 25	Wilson's Ranch to Mountain House	20 miles
April 26	Mountain House to Los Banos	22 miles
April 27	Los Banos to Leonards Ranch	21 miles
April 28	Leonards Ranch to Madera	35 miles

56. PSF, Post Returns 1898; Hampton, *How the Cavalry Saved*, p. 159, states that no Regulars went to the national parks that year.

April 29	Madera to Fresno	23 miles
April 30	Fresno to Kings River and on to Graham	20 miles 12 miles
May 1	Graham to Tulare	12 miles
May 2	camped	
May 3	Tulare to Jennings Ranch	16 miles
May 4-6	camped	
May 7	Jennings Ranch to Three Rivers	22 miles
May 8-9	camped	
May 10	Three Rivers to Watson Spring	16 miles
May 11	Watson Spring to Camp Sequoia	16 miles
Total		323 miles⁵⁷

Following the Spanish American War, a number of cavalry regiments, stationed at the Presidio, performed the annual duties in the parks:

6th Cavalry Regiment, 1899-1901
15th Cavalry Regiment, 1901
3d Cavalry Regiment, 1902
9th (Black) Cavalry Regiment, 1903
(Records unavailable for 1904 and 1905)
14th Cavalry Regiment, 1906-1909
1st Cavalry Regiment, 1910-1913

Because construction for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition called for the destruction of the cavalry stables in the lower Presidio, the 1st Cavalry Regiment transferred to the Presidio of Monterey in December 1913. The summer of 1913 thus proved to be the last season for the Presidio's horse soldiers in the national parks.⁵⁸

As pleasant as patrolling in the national parks must have been for the troopers, the U.S. Army was happy to have the cavalry return to soldiering as trouble mounted on the Mexican border and war clouds

57. PSF, Post Returns, 1909.

58. *Ibid*, 1899-1913. In 1914 Maj. William T. Littebrant again marched his 1st Cavalry troops to Yosemite, this time from the Presidio of Monterey. On July 14, 1914, an Interior Department employee, Gabriel Soulewski, relieved Major Littebrant as park supervisor, and on June 10, 1915, Interior Department representative Mark Daniel introduced George V. Bell as the new superintendent. Thus the Interior Department took direct control of Yosemite from the "acting superintendents" who since 1891 had been army officers. President Woodrow Wilson's administration already had in the works creation of a new uniformed civilian bureau of the Department of the Interior that would be established by an act of Congress in 1916, the National Park Service.

gathered in Europe. Not only was the War Department spending its appropriations on Department of the Interior responsibilities, the training of the cavalry troops for combat suffered. The Army's retired chief of staff, Lt. Gen. S.B.M. Young, wrote, "Such details are injurious to the Army in that regimental and squadron organizations are not only disturbed but the troop organization is largely demoralized by subdividing the men into small parties far separated for indefinite periods of time without the personal supervision of an officer."

Nevertheless, as Historian Hampton writes, the cavalry acting without the benefit of well-defined legal stipulations and hampered by the absence of punitive legislation, did save the Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks in the same manner that the cavalry had saved the Yellowstone National Park, "Without the protective presence of the United States Cavalry, much of what exists today as a part of the National Park system could well have become, like other non-protected areas, scarred, disfigured, and destroyed. Park visitors . . . owe these forgotten men a debt of gratitude."⁵⁹

G. Melange

By 1897 the Presidio of San Francisco had grown into a major army post; professionalism in military training and operations had become the order of the day. Yet there were small incidents, arcane regulations, and unpredictable happenings that were reminders of the fact that the handsome post at the Golden Gate was made up of human beings.

The post quartermaster learned in 1889 that he could now use a typewriter for his official correspondence, except that sums of money should still be in ink, "as it adds security to such papers." Officers in arrest received orders to confine themselves to quarters during such times as the troops were on review, dress parade, or drill. When Sgt. Patrick Dougherty complained that his men could not air their blankets on the barracks porch, he was curtly informed that the piazzas were not the proper place. He should have clothes lines in the back yard.

One morning the body of a dead man was discovered on the reservation near the Harbor View resort. The

59. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, pp. 59-60; Hampton, *How the Cavalry Saved*, p. 163 and 176-177; S.B.M. Young, October 15, 1907, "Annual Report," Letters Sent XVII, April-October 1907, Archives, Yellowstone National Park.

San Francisco coroner investigated. Two months later a trooper fell from the second floor of a cavalry barracks porch. He did not survive. The accident report concluded with the comment that the soldier had no relatives. Many restrictions forbade the photographing of any armament on the reserve. In 1892, however, the Quartermaster General directed that twelve photographs of the buildings and grounds be taken to be displayed at the Columbian Exposition and Chicago World's Fair the next year.

The post commander prohibited the playing of all games on Sundays. He said that large numbers of well behaved people, including women and children visited the Presidio on that day, whereas sports attracted the lawless class and hoodlums. Then there were the pets. An infantry company received permission to have two greyhounds as barracks dogs. But the cavalry had gone too far. The post commander ordered that they immediately get rid of the pet bear they kept in the stables.⁶⁰

As the 19th century drew to a close, the Regular Army slowly emerged from its years of isolation that had followed the Civil War. By 1890 the Indian wars had ended and the Census Bureau announced the closing of the frontier. The Army began closing many of the small one- and two-company posts and concentrated troops in larger installations located on lines of communication. In 1870, troops occupied 175 garrisons and in 1894, only eighty. The Presidio of San Francisco, being the neighbor of a large cosmopolitan city, had not experienced the same degree of isolation and neglect as most posts. Yet, it too grew in strength during these years. Its strength in January 1870 amounted to seven officers and 165 enlisted men. Twenty-nine officers and 579 enlisted men formed the garrison in January 1894.

This concentration of strength, often from the different arms, allowed for the training of regiment-sized units for the first time in many years. Maneuvers and sham battles, such as that led by Colonel Shafter at Monterey in 1889, became possible. Professionalism increased among army officers. In 1890 promotions below the rank of major were made by examination rather than by seniority. That same year officer promotion was made within each arm, corps, or staff department, rather than from within the regiment as before. The army initiated efficiency reports during the 1890s. Additional schools were established, such as a school of instruction for cavalry and artillery at Fort Riley, Kansas, in 1892, and the Army Medical

60. Circular 2, March 15, 1889, War Department; Orders 179, July 11, 1889, Post Orders 1899; CO, PSF, September 22, 1893, 1st endorsement; P. Dougherty, November 22, 1891, to CO, Troop K; CO, PSF, November 14, 1891; C.P. Miller, October 20, 1892, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1889-1893; Graham, August 10, 1892, to Coroner; J. Jones, February 6, 1896, to G.H. Gale, Letters Sent; F.O. Ferris, November 27, 1897, to CO, PSF, Register of Letter Received 1897, PSF, RG 393, NA.

School in 1893. Lyceums, such as those held at the Presidio, military journals, and other publications further stimulated professional study.

As the 19th century drew to a close, the United States began to emerge as a new world power. Its interests began to expand beyond the continental limits. Soon the Army and Navy would be involved in supporting and protecting new American affairs overseas. The Presidio of San Francisco would become a critically important element in the new arrangements. Its physical plant, ever evolving, underwent many significant changes in this decade before the coming of an international war.⁶¹

61. Weigley, *United States Army*, pp. 290-291; Coffman, *Old Army*, pp. 270 and 281-282; Maurice Matloff, *American Military History* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 281, 289-290, and 319; R. Ernest Dupuy, *The Compact History of the United States Army*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Hawthorn, 1973), p. 159; Francis Paul Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), pp. 34-36.